

## Message Text

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11

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAM-01 AID-05 /079 W  
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P R 111532Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1485

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 0665

EO 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, AO, RH, ZA

SUBJECT: SOUTHERN AFRICA: ZAMBIAN VIEWS FOLLOWING KANANGA  
AND DAR MEETINGS

1. PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR MARK CHONA IN HOUR LONG MEETING  
WITH ME BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE FOR LONDON AND WASHINGTON  
EVENING OF APRIL 11 REVIEWED RESULTS OF RECENT KANANGA AND  
DAR MEETINGS AND PROVIDED CONFIDENT, MORE OPTIMISTIC  
PERSPECTIVE FOR PEACEFUL EVOLUTION IN ANGOLA, RESUMPTION OF  
NEGOTIATIONS ON RHODESIA AND NEW OPPORTUNITY OPEN TO PM  
VORSTER FOR FORWARD MOVEMENT ON NAMIBIA. CHONA SAID  
PRESIDENT KAUNDA WOULD BE "PERFECTLY FRANK" IN REVIEWING  
SOUTHERN AFRICAN SITUATION FOR PRESIDENT FORD WHEN TWO  
PRESIDENTS MEET IN WASHINGTON ON APRIL 19.

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2. ANGOLA. EACH OF PRESIDENTS AT KANANGA COMMITTED

THEIR COUNTRIES TO SEARCH FOR STABILITY AND PEACEFUL  
TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT IN FACE OF REAL DANGER  
OF CIVIL WAR. SAID MOBUTU PERHAPS MOST ACUTELY AWARE OF  
WHAT ANOTHER CONGO AND FURTHER, UNCHECKED BLOODSHED  
WOULD DO TO HIS PRIZED IMAGE AS A POLITICAL STABILIZER  
IN AREA. CHONA ACKNOWLEDGED MOBUTU GIVES HIS NEIGHBORS  
PROBLEMS BECAUSE OF SHIFTS IN COURSE AND CHANGES OF MIND.

3. ASKED HOW THREAT FROM NETO COULD BE CONTROLLED SO AS  
TO PREVENT REPEAT OF ARMED CLASHES OF PAST FEW MONTHS,  
CHONA SAID PLANS DRAWN UP AT KANANGA "TO LIMIT NETO'S  
OPTIONS", APPARENTLY WITH FIRM ASSIST FROM PORTUGUESE,  
BASED ON RECENT TALKS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER MELO ANTUNES.  
SAID USG COULD HELP BY APPRECIATION OF TRUE CHARACTER AND  
DIRECTION OF NEW PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT WHICH BASICALLY  
NATIONALIST, NOT COMMUNIST.

4. CHONA HAD LONG TALKS WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE DURING PAST  
FEW DAYS. SAID ZAMBIANS AND TANZANIANS IN PERFECT AGREE-  
MENT ON ANGOLAN OUTLOOK. THEY BELIEVE THERE IS NOW SOME  
HOPE FOR NEW UNITY AMONG LIBERATION GROUPS THERE. REPEATED  
MANY STATEMENTS WHICH PRESIDENT NYERERE HAD MADE TO  
AMBASSADOR CARTER DURING THEIR RECENT MEETING OF WHICH HE  
AWARE (DAR'S 921). FOR EXAMPLE, IF ELECTIONS HELD  
MPLA WOULD WIN; IF RESORT TO ARMS, FNLA WOULD COME  
OUT THE VICTOR. WHEN CHONA SUBTLY QUESTIONED U.S. HELP  
TO HOLDEN ROBERTO, I SAID POPULAR IMPRESSION OF U.S.  
ROLE IN THIS REGARD MISTAKEN AND OVERDRAWN. CHONA WAS  
ESPECIALLY HIGH IN PRAISE OF PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTER  
MELO ANTUNES AND HIS CAPACITY WITH OTHER RIGHT-THINKING  
PORTUGUESE LEADERS TO CONTROL ANGOLAN SITUATION.

5. RHODESIA. CHONA RETURNED TO EARLIER THEME THAT IF  
SAG PM VORSTER HAD BEEN MORE HELPFUL AND FORTHCOMING,  
TASK OF PEACEMAKERS IN CONFRONTATION WITH MILITANTS AT DAR  
WOULD HAVE BEEN MADE EASIER. YET RESULTS OF DAR MEETING  
("MANY OF FINAL RESOLUTIONS WILL BE VERY TOUGH ON SOUTH  
AFRICA") MAY HELP TO UNDERSCORE FOR VORSTER THE REAL  
TEMPER OF MORE MILITANT AFRICANS AND MOVE HIM TO GREATER  
ACTION.

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6. AFRICANS NOW APPRECIATE THEY HAVE UNUSED LEVERAGE  
AND THAT VORSTER HAS MORE ROOM FOR MANEUVER. THEY  
INTEND TO PUSH HARD FOR VORSTER TO MOVE ON NAMIBIA  
AND RHODESIA. SAID VORSTER NEEDS TO CONVINCE SMITH THERE  
IS STILL TIME TO WITHDRAW GRACEFULLY AND "WITH HONOR." IN  
FACT, SMITH SHOULD BE MADE TO BELIEVE THAT HE COULD EVEN  
STAY ON AS PREMIER IN ANY TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. THE

AFRICANS WOULD NOT OBJECT, CHONA ADDED, AS LONG AS THEY  
HAD A CLEAR AND FIXED DATE FOR MAJORITY RULE.

7. ZAMBIAN SOUNDINGS AMONG RHODESIAN AGRICULTURALISTS  
AND BUSINESSMEN CONVINCES THEM THAT THOSE MORE PRACTICAL  
RHODESIANS ARE ALREADY MENTALLY ADJUSTING TO INEVITABILITY  
OF CHANGE TO MAJORITY RULE. USG COULD ALSO BE HELPFUL BY  
GETTING THIS MESSAGE TO SMITH. WHEN I PROTESTED WE HAD NO  
DIRECT LINE, CHONA CONTENDED THERE WERE MANY WAYS OF  
SENDING MESSAGES.

8. CHONA THEN SPOKE OF STRONG PROBABILITY OF INCREASED  
ECONOMIC PRESSURE ON RHODESIA TO BRING SMITH TO HIS  
SENSES. SAID SAMORA MACHEL DISPOSED TO TIGHTEN SANCTIONS  
ON RHODESIAN TRADE. WHILE BUSINESSMEN AND  
INDUSTRIALISTS WOULD BE HARDEST HIT WITH SHORTAGES THAT  
WOULD ENSUE. AFRICANS CONFIDENT THIS COULD HAVE TELLING  
EFFECT IN TURNING SMITH AROUND. I RAISED QUESTION OF HIGH  
COST OF FINANCING SANCTIONS WHICH WOULD BE A FISCAL BURDEN  
FOR MOZAMBIQUE WITHOUT OUTSIDE HELP. CHONA SPOKE OF  
"MANY NATIONS WILLING TO HELP". HERE AGAIN USG COULD  
ASSIST, HE SAID. HE GAVE NO HINT OF POSSIBLE BRITISH  
INVOLVEMENT. IN FACT REMARKS HE MADE LATER SUGGESTED  
SUGGESTED ONLY ROLE ZAMBIANS AND VORSTER SAW FOR BRITISH  
WAS STRICTLY LEGALISTIC AND CONSTITUTIONAL, BRITISH CAN COME  
IN AT LAST MINUTE "AND WEAR VICTORY CROWN WITH POMP AND  
CIRCUMSTANCE WHICH THEY SO GOOD AT", CHONA CHIDED. SAID  
ZAMBIA FRANKLY HAS HAD PROBLEMS WITH BRITISH ON RHODESIAN  
SETTLEMENT.

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 IO-10 SAM-01 AID-05 /079 W

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P R 111532Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1486

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
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AMCONSUL LUANDA  
AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

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9. I ASKED CHONA IF ISOLATION AND DETENTION OF SOME MEMBERS OF ZANU WOULD CAUSE PROBLEMS AND DRAW POSSIBLE CRITICISM THAT CERTAIN ELEMENT OF RHODESIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT BEING EXCLUDED. CRITICIZED BY WHOM, CHONA HOTLY ASKED, ADDING THAT IF IT CLEARLY ESTABLISHED CHITEPO MURDERED FROM WITHIN RANKS OF ZANU, THEN OTHERS IN MOVEMENT WOULD BE GRATEFUL THIS ELEMENT ELIMINATED. CHONA SAID WE WANT GUNS SILENCED IN ZIMBABWE; IF THEY ARE NOT, THEN MILITANT FORCES SEEKING NEW POLITICAL ORDER IN NAMIBIA WILL BE ENCOURAGED. ZAMBIA WANTS TO EXHAUST ALL PEACEFUL ROUTES. CHONA THEN EXTENDED HIGH PRAISE FOR CALM, MODERATE CONSTRUCTIVE LEADERSHIP OF ANC UNDER BISHOP MUSOREWA WHOSE LINE SUPPORTED BY JOSHUA NKOMO AND NDABANINGI SITHOLE. YES, SITHOLE, CHONA REPEATED WHEN I RAISED EYEBROWS. ASKED ABOUT ROBERT MUGABE, CHONA SAID HE WAS "UNKNOWN" ELEMENT FOR ZAMBIANS. HE DOUBTED SAMORA MACHEL WOULD TOLERATE MUGABE IN MOZAMBIQUE, BUT  
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WOULD NOT HAZARD GUESS AS TO HIS WHEREABOUTS.

10. NAMIBIA. CHONA CONCENTRATED MOST OF HIS ATTENTION ON NAMIBIA IN TERMS OF NEW AND IMPORTANT FACE-SAVING OPPORTUNITY FOR VORSTER GROWING OUT OF DAR MEETING OF OAU FOREIGN MINISTERS. IF INDEED VORSTER WANTS TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH OAU WITHOUT BEING HUNG UP OVER UN OR COUNCIL OF NAMIBIA, HE NOW CAN. SAID OAU FOREIGN MINISTERS GIVING MANDATE TO AFRICAN MEMBERS OF UN COUNCIL TO TAKE UP ISSUE OF NAMIBIA WITH SOUTH AFRICA. CHONA LISTED THESE AS ZAMBIA, BOTSWANA, BURUNDI, NIGERIA, LIBERIA, SENEGAL, ALGERIA AND EGYPT. HERE AGAIN CHONA SAID USG COULD BE HELPFUL IN GETTING MESSAGE TO VORSTER THAT IMPORTANT NEW OPPORTUNITY AVAILABLE FOR HIM TO MAKE GOOD ON HIS PROMISES REGARDING NAMIBIA " AND PROVE HIS HONESTY."

11. CHONA FRANKLY ADMITTED VORSTER DESERVED CREDIT IN FORTHRIGHT MOVES TO DATE ON RHODESIA, WHICH HE SAID PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGED IN ZAMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MWAANGA'S

STATEMENT AT DAR MEETING. BUT SOUTH AFRICANS SHOULD NOT  
FEAR GUERILLA MOVEMENTS AGAINST THEM EVEN THOUGH AFRICA  
HAS NOT CHANGED ITS VIEWS ON APARTHEID.  
WILKOWSKI

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## Message Attributes

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